

A MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE

Address on the Issues of the day, by

H. H. STEVENS

UNIONIST CANDIDATE FOR VANCOUVER

My policy is very simple. So long as the rights and privileges of small and defenceless nations, of democracy and civilization are threatened by an arrogant, brutal and autocratic power, I conceive it to be Canada's paramount and exclusive duty to set aside all party strife, questions of tariff, or of internal economy and to combat such a menace with all the vigor of her consecrated energy, until the impending evil has been definitely and finally overcome and subdued.

To deviate from this clear path of duty, to alarm or mislead public opinion by false accusations against our political or military leaders would be, in my mind, an act of treason, not only against the state whose protection we enjoy, but against humanity and civilization. (Applause).

Sailors and Soldiers Protect.

The fact that I can address you at all and that you can assemble in this theatre to hear me is due to two things: The British Navy and the British and Canadian soldiers on the western front. The bases of all arguments in favor of the Union Government come back to the maintenance of the Canadian Army Corps on the western front and the support of the British navy. (Applause).

'Tis Liberty that crowns Britannia's Isle,
And makes her barren rocks and
her bleak mountains smile;
'Tis Britain's care to watch o'er
Europe's fate,
And hold in balance each con-
tending state;
To threaten bold, presumptuous
kings with war,
And answer her afflicted neigh-
bor's prayer.

Britain has answered Belgium's call: she answered it three years ago. Has Belgium's need grown less or has it not multiplied many, many times in the last thirty-six months? Only one year ago began the crowning act of Hunnish brutality, slavery in its lowest, basest and vilest form for the Belgians. That is going on today, slaves are being made of Belgians today, yet there are men who tell us, "Smash your hand and let us have a good all-round year's petty squabble about the means of fulfilling Canada's paramount duty!" Fellow-countrymen, the battle-fields of Flanders shall not be burlesqued. (Applause).

Girls Made Slaves.

Picture Vancouver as Brussels is to-day. The mechanic finds conditions hard, but he has employment even under the hard rule of the Germans. But one night he comes home and finds his daughters gone, his girls of sixteen and eighteen, finds his boys gone and nobody can tell him where. They are gone by the hundreds of thousands. Families are ruthlessly broken up. Have we fulfilled our pledged word to Belgium? The treaties of hundreds of years, the treaty of tilth, the traditions of the Empire, the call of humanity demands that we do.

France has been bled white. One in every ten of the population of glorious France has fallen. Where Canada mourns in thousands of homes, France mourns in millions. She has been tortured, trodden under foot, but she still is fighting bravely as facing death. Have the wounds of France been staunched? Are we not bound by ties of blood and Christian charity to staunch them? Was it not to do the righteous thing that thirty thousand of our brave lads lie buried under the blood-stained soil of

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Flanders? Shall we not keep faith with those heroic Canadians who fight for us on the western front?

Answer Your Neighbor.

Answer the afflicted neighbor's call. That call still heard. Serbia is still under the heel of the Hun. Italy's fair valleys are overrun by Hindenburg's hordes. Premier Lloyd George has done well to point to 2500 guns taken to stir up public opinion. I do not understand how a man can get down to petty, picayune political strivings in the face of these great tragedies. (Loud applause).

In all my political career I have never indulged in a campaign of personalities and to that record I intend to stick in this campaign. But when men on public platforms utter false accusations and insinuate despicable innuendoes, I claim the right to answer as a public man. Fortunately my opponent's position has been stated in a lengthy manifesto. Mr. McInnes says we must face the facts and then coolly charges that the Canadian army corps is rife with snobbery, politics and favoritism. If a man makes aspersions of that kind against a large and respectable body of his fellow-countrymen, he should surely produce the facts to back them up.

McInnes Shy on Facts.

Now, what are the facts? Who are these politicians in the army that Mr. McInnes is so incensed at for their snobbery and favoritism? Who are the army officers who have achieved their proud positions through political chicanery? Let me call the names of some of the men on the roll of honor, and I defy Mr. McInnes to make his aspersions good.

What about Sir Arthur Currie? Does the man breathe who will dare say that the officer who took Paaschendaale Ridge was the product of politics, snobbery and favoritism? Brigadier-General Odium, in a letter to me says: "General Currie, who commands the Canadian Division, has been knighted. Everyone over here is delighted. He is probably the most popular and is certainly the outstanding officer in the Canadian corps." Perhaps Mr. McInnes will say he did not mean General Currie.

Did he mean Lieut.-Col. Hart-McHarg? What about General Victor Odium himself? Odium, who has been three times wounded and still will not leave the front? I know something but I can't tell it. When war was declared, Victor Odium came into my office and asked me to telegraph Sir Sam Hughes telling him

that he held the rank of major, but was willing to go as an officer of any rank and if not as an officer, then as a private. (Loud applause).

Attacks on Soldiers.

What about Gen. Turner, Col. McRae, the late Major Mowat, Col. Harry Tobin, Col. Clark, of the 72nd, Col. Peck, of the 16th brigade, and the head of the forces in B. C., General Leckie? These men in civilian life were all Liberals. Are they the product of politics, snobbery and favoritism?

But Mr. McInnes may say he was not referring to the men from British Columbia at the front, but to the men at the head of the military establishment at Ottawa. It is easy to shift the charge 3000 miles away. What men, about the Quarter-Master General, Gen. Macdonald, just retired after many years of service? Gen. Fiset, the deputy minister of militia, Col. Helmer, Col. Emmet Clark, who had carried out marvels of transportation, Gen. Gwynn, who has organized mobilization, Col. Potter and Gen. Mewburn, the Unionist Minister of Militia all Liberals, and owing to their original appointments to Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Even the charge made 3000 miles away is not true.

Letter from a Liberal.

In regard to myself, I may be permitted to read an extract from a letter from Dr. Charles Read, a well known Vancouver Liberal, now overseas, in which he says: "It might be that some day an undue reproach would be cast upon you and the charge made that political favoritism was at the back of all your recommendations, in which case I authorize you to use my name in any manner necessary to disprove the charge in so far as I am concerned. Politically, as you have known for some time, I am a Liberal, and a radical one at that, and certainly no member of my party could have given me more consideration and assistance than you have freely accorded me in my endeavors in the above." (his efforts to go overseas with the Forestry Battalion).

In the face of these facts is there any evidence of widespread politics, snobbery and favoritism? Let these men who slander our men in uniform come forward and put their fingers on the wholesale instances they allege occur. They have no right to cast aspersions on our splendid officers overseas and in Canada, of all of whom we say they have done their duty and done it well. (Applause).

With the Vipers.

Mr. McInnes, my opponent, calls Bourassa and his Nationalist friends "Nationalist vipers of Quebec that were bred and pampered by the present government." But if Mr. McInnes is returned to Ottawa he will be aligned with these same "Nationalist vipers," for they all support Laurier as does he. Bourassa, the chief viper, in his paper, *Le Devoir*, says: "We ask nothing better than to assist Laurier in upsetting this government of national treason." (Pretty words from Quebec). The Unionist program is the antipodes of all we admire, of all we desire; while it is the essence of all we detest, of all we despise. We are, in fact, at our ease in combatting this detestable coalition. We are at one with Laurier."

Mr. McInnes and the "Nationalist vipers" are in the same bed. He can't kick them out unless he kicks out Laurier.

Untruths About Soldiers.

Mr. McInnes says: There are enough Canadian soldiers in England now to make up the ordinary shrinkage for two years and that thousands are kept there needlessly who have never been in France. Mr. McInnes is simply not telling the truth, but trying to deliberately mislead the electors. The actual figures of the men in England last June were as follows: Officers, fit and unfit, 7981; men fit for trenches, 30,000; men fit for trenches but not fully trained, 30,000; railway and forestry, 11,566; temporarily unfit, 13,500; British service only, 11,500; totally unfit, 17,638; miscellaneous.

Nearly 75,000 unfit, in the military sense, for duty in France.

Great Britain, it must be remembered, is the clearing-house of the war. Moreover, an army has to have reserves. To hear Mr. McInnes you would imagine that so soon as a man puts on a uniform he is ready for the trenches and that no reviews are needed and no training. On a parity with this is his statement that there are enough Canadian soldiers in England for supplying the gaps in the fighting line for the next two or seven years. He talks of a shrinkage of 5000 men a month. The fact is that the shrinkage is nearly 10,000 a month. And let no man talk glibly of shrinkage. Shrinkage means men killed, shattered, gassed, wounded. This is the tragedy of the war. Let us not make it the subject matter of ill-considered statements.

Send Help to the Boys.

The government set out to have two divisions in the firing line, two in reserve and two at rest. That called for 500,000 men. But that program fell down and that is why the boys in the trenches get so little rest. With only two divisions in France it was inevitable that the Canadian soldiers should be overworked.

Mr. McInnes says that there are 100,000 Canadian troops kept needlessly in England doing nothing. Well, that is not so. That's all there is to that. The fifth division was organized in England, but the shrinkage was such in France that they had to take drafts away from it continuously. It was a mobile division constantly undergoing change. Not enough men could be obtained to send to England to enable that division to complete its establishment and send a fighting force to France.

When Mr. McInnes says that there are 100,000 Canadian troops lying idle in England he says what is not true. (Applause).

And the call to Canada from the trenches for reinforcements has still to be answered. Are the people to continue the policy of supporting our troops in the field, the policy of Sir Robert Borden, or is it to be a policy of abandonment, the policy of Sir Wilfrid Laurier?

Thirty thousand of our relatives lie on the fields of France and Flanders, and while their voices are silent, their spirits call to us to do our duty in this great crisis and see that Canada's honor is vindicated at this time and at this hour. (Applause).

Hind Sight is No Good.

Mr. McInnes says he would have been in favor of conscription at the outset of the war. Why, we called for 20,000 men and 33,000 went over in the first contingent. The men came faster than we could equip them. Neither you nor I, nor Mr. McInnes, with all his hindsight, ever dreamed of conscription at that time. Nobody thought the war would last so long. Most people thought it would be over by Christmas. And this man says he would have favored it had the government brought in conscription at the outbreak of the war. He never thought of it. And now he says that though he was in favor of conscription three years ago, he will support the old chieftan with the white plume—the white feather, I say! (Cheers).

Mr. McInnes supports the old chieftan with the white feather. Laurier

says there is no need of conscription. So says Mr. McInnes. Laurier is pledged to cancel the drafts being raised under the Military Service Act. He has an alternative, he will consult the motherland, as to whether more Canadian troops are needed or not. But Laurier's consultations with the motherland have not been happy for British connection and the empire.

At the Imperial Conference.

In 1902 and in 1907 the question of overseas participation in Imperial Naval Defence was under discussion. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, as Canadian Prime Minister, was present at those conferences. He was eloquent in his expressions of loyalty, but stubbornly determined in his refusals to act.

At the Imperial Conference in London in May, 1907, Dr. Smartt, Premier of Cape Colony, moved the following resolutions:

"That this Conference, recognizing the vast importance of the services rendered by the navy to the defence of the Empire, and the protection of its trade, and the paramount importance of continuing to maintain the navy in the highest possible state of efficiency, considers it to be THE DUTY OF THE DOMINIONS BEYOND THE SEAS TO MAKE SUCH CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS THE UPKEEP OF THE NAVY, AS MAY BE DETERMINED BY THEIR LOCAL LEGISLATURES—the contribution to take the form of a grant of money, the establishment of local naval defence, or such other services, IN SUCH MANNER AS MAY BE DECIDED UPON AFTER CONSULTATION WITH THE ADMIRALTY AND AS WOULD BEST ACCORD WITH THEIR VARYING CIRCUMSTANCES."

Laurier Voted Against Union.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, speaking on this resolution, said:

"I AM SORRY TO SAY SO FAR AS CANADA IS CONCERNED WE CANNOT AGREE TO THE RESOLUTION.

... For my part, if the motion were pressed to a conclusion, I should have to vote against it."

Dr. Smartt—"I think it is a great pity we do not pass something. WE HAVE DONE SO MUCH IN THE WAY OF PIOUS AFFIRMATION THAT I AM ANXIOUS WE SHOULD DO SOMETHING OF A PRACTICAL CHARACTER."

Sir Wilfrid Laurier—"It can be passed if there is a majority. FOR MY

PART I MUST VOTE AGAINST IT."

Further on Sir Wilfrid said:

"We, of the different Dominions beyond the seas, have tried to be unanimous up to the present time. I am sorry to say this is a question upon which we could not be unanimous. Therefore Dr. Smartt can move it if he chooses, or withdraw it. BUT IF HE PRESSES IT I SHOULD HAVE TO VOTE AGAINST IT."

Dr. Smartt's resolution was withdrawn owing solely to the attitude of Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

Against British Navy.

When the Borden government, aware of the grave danger then threatening the Empire from Germany, and after consultation with the Admiralty, offered three Canadian dreadnoughts to increase the effective naval forces of the Empire, Laurier engaged in a struggle which every Canadian will long remember.

He scoffed at the Admiralty memorandum. He ridiculed the idea of an emergency. He fought the Naval Aid Bill through every stage in the House of Commons. He caused his partisan majority in the Senate to kill it. He encouraged Germany. He forced the Admiralty to supply the additional ships which Canada was to have given. Because of his action, the Dominion of Canada is today without the means of playing the part that should be played by a great people in fighting for the Empire on the sea. Australia is there. New Zealand is there.

Laurier Praises the Kaiser.

It was the old chieftain with the white feather who, in a speech in the House of Commons on February 27th, 1913, had this to say about the Kaiser: "The German Emperor is undoubtedly one of the great men of the present age. By intellect, by character, by moral fibre, he has shown himself wonderfully endowed. In the first years of his reign some of his utterances sent a shiver through those who had the peace of the world at heart. Many believed that he was, perhaps, hankering for the glamour of military glory. But as he advanced in years, and as crisis after crisis came, his potent influence was always directed towards peace, and the day may come when, like his illustrious uncle, our late king, he may be called the peacemaker. At all events, we may presume that if blood is thicker than water it ought to be thicker than water in the veins of kings and emperors as well as in those of common mortals. And what incentive can the

German Emperor have to humiliate a country like England to which he is attached by such dear ties?—From a speech by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the House of Commons, February 27th, 1913.

Laurier Not the Man to Act.

Laurier, who rejected the pleas of the motherland on every occasion, is not the man to consult with the motherland when the question of British connection has to be decided.

And after consulting with the motherland, Laurier would take a referendum. Laurier's policy is for delay, week after week, and month after month until the few remaining divisions comprising the Canadian army corps are cut to pieces. We are asked to stand idly by for eighteen months while a policy of attrition goes on—one of the most appalling words in the English language today, and a word whose meaning should pierce the soul of every man who has a sense of gratitude and patriotism. It was as though bandits robbed the inhabitants of a large valley and a farmer were to tell the posse, "No, my farm has not been touched, so I shall not join you, but I'll sell you food to keep you going while you hunt the bandits down—at war rates."

Laurier for Fatal Delay.

That is Sir Wilfrid Laurier's solemn proposal. That is Mr. McInnes' proposal. And Mr. McInnes proposes that instead of sending men to the battalions to send 100,000 men to the land and produce food for the motherland, grow wheat overnight and sell it to England and get the money. (Cheers).

Mr. F. C. Wade, the titular head of the Laurier party in British Columbia, wanted the Militia Act brought into force. Well, the Militia Act is compulsory just like the Military Service Act. It has been on the statute book for 45 years and not a word had been said against it. Apparently Mr. Wade and his friends don't know about it yet. But the Militia Act would work a hardship for it would compel the service of all men from 18 to 60 years of age and would choose them by blind chance, the married and the single, the old and the young, the men wanted in the munitions factories and the men not wanted. For that reason selective conscription has been substituted.

And Mr. McInnes in his manifesto, trying to face both ways at once, like Janus of old, blames Sir Robert Borden for the failure of the voluntary system and in the next breath, says Canada

should be praised for what she has done in the war. The inconsistency of Mr. McInnes is monumental.

Wealth is Conscribed.

Now we come to the conscription of wealth. That is a phrase to conjure with. Have you ever heard any one define it? Do the Laurier party mean confiscation of wealth when they clamor for the conscription of wealth? If they do why don't they say so and be as honest as the Socialists are about it? The nearest thing I can think of in the way of confiscation of wealth is that if a man has a fat bank account the Laurier party would proceed to take a slice out of it.

Well, now the Union government is conscripting wealth and wealth is feeling the pinch of war through the government appropriations in the interests of the whole people. The Business War Profits Tax Act passed on May 18, 1916, reveals the heavy hand the government is putting on wealth. This act is retroactive and covers the years 1915, 1916 and 1917 and applies to all businesses of \$50,000 actually invested, or to dealers who deal in war supplies to the extent of 20 per cent. of their business. This War Profits Tax Act collected for the government during the two accounting periods in 1915 and 1916, 25 per cent. of the profits in excess of seven per cent. for an incorporated company, and 25 per cent. of the profits in excess of 10 per cent. for other companies and partnerships.

Taxes Hit Big Business.

This act was amended on June 8, 1917, and the tax increased. For the third accounting period, namely, 1917, the taxes collected are, the old tax applying on profits up to 15 per cent.; if the profits exceed 15 per cent. and up to 20, the tax is increased to 50 per cent. On that portion of profits; if the profits exceed 20 per cent. the tax is increased to 75 per cent. on that portion of the profits.

Besides these taxes there is an Income War Tax Act, dated September 20, 1917. This act applies also to the year 1917, any difference in the business profits tax to be allowed for. By its application all corporations and joint stock companies, no matter what their capital, pay four per cent. on all profits in excess of \$3000. Individuals are taxed four per cent. on all incomes over \$1500 for unmarried persons and widows or widowers without children, while the normal tax is four per cent. on all incomes over \$3000 in the case of all others.

Soaks the Big Incomes.

Furthermore, and in addition to these taxes, there is called the super tax, which is:

- 2 per cent. on incomes over \$6000 and up to \$10,000.
- 5 per cent. on incomes over \$10,000 and up to \$20,000.
- 8 per cent. on incomes over \$20,000 and up to \$30,000.
- 10 per cent. on incomes over \$30,000 and up to \$50,000.
- 15 per cent. on incomes over \$50,000 and up to \$100,000.
- 25 per cent. on incomes over \$100,000.

Are not these measures conscription of wealth? It is impossible for wealth to escape paying its share of the money cost of this war now and until it is fully paid for.

Take Vote from Aliens..

As to the War Times Elections Act, I stand behind it even though it disqualifies all citizens of alien enemy origin coming to this country for the last 18 years. For that I have no apology to make. But it also enfranchises the wives, the widows, the mothers, the sisters and the daughters of the men who are and have been with the Canadian forces, both military and naval. And for that there is no need to apologize.

The reason enumerators were appointed is to see that men of alien enemy origin are weeded out from the voters' lists. Mr. McInnes says these have been appointed to steal the election. Let me tell Mr. McInnes that this system was put into operation by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the three prairie provinces, and that it is in operation there at the present time. Whatever may be said about the principle of it, it has been endorsed by Laurier.

"Why did you not give all the women a vote?" asked a man in the audience.

As to the Women's Vote.

Here is what we were faced with: There were hundreds of thousands of women on the prairies and in the congested districts of Eastern Canada who came to the country in recent years from alien countries, but any woman who comes to Canada and marries a citizen is herself a citizen the next day. We would have enfranchised thousands of women who have very little qualification and it was preferable to sacrifice the privilege on the part of some of the women for the time being in order to keep that class off the list. But Sir Robert Borden promises the vote to all women after the war. (Applause.)

McInnes' Futile Hope.

Mr. McInnes says he would have the English language, British ideals and British history taught to every child in Canada. How is he going to accomplish this? Surely he will have a hard time doing it with Laurier, for Laurier last year tried to force through the House of Commons an unconstitutional resolution forcing the French language on Ontario. And it was Laurier who said, "A year ago I offered to resign as leader of the opposition and they would not have it; but now (about October 20) when they want it, the result will be different, for I will stay and fight for Quebec." He did not say Canada. He did not say the British Empire. He said Quebec. If Laurier wins, Quebec will rule. Then what will happen to Mr. McInnes and his English language, British ideals and British history?

Ross Rifle Back-fires.

Much has been attempted to be made out against the government over the Ross rifle. Mr. McInnes forgets that it was Sir Wilfrid Laurier's government that entered into an unlimited exclusive contract with Sir Charles Ross on March 27, 1902, and renewed it in more liberal terms in December, 1910, before the present government came into office. By the terms of the contract a factory had to be built at Quebec, Sir Wilfrid's native province; and twelve months' notice had to be given of all desired changes in design. In supplying the Canadian troops with the Ross rifle it was done through the military authorities, both Canadian and British. Sir John French said that the British ammunition was unsuited to the Ross rifle. He did not condemn the rifle. The British government itself bought 100,000 of these rifles in 1916. These developed a hopeless division of opinion among the military authorities in England and France re the Ross rifle and finally all arms of the service in the firing line were equipped with Lee-Enfields.

Sir Robert's Sound Position.

Throughout the whole controversy, Sir Robert Borden deferred to the military authorities on the scene, but at all times suggested the wisdom of uniformity in the service weapon for all forces, thus exhibiting his statesmanship, as the issue showed.

This Ross rifle controversy back-fires.

Sir Robert Borden has no reason to be ashamed of his patriotic devotion to duty since the war began. The interests of

Canada, the cementing of the bond that binds Canada and the British Empire and the aggressive prosecution of the war to a successful conclusion have engaged his energies without ceasing. He has the genius of statesmanship. He is in the line of succession of Sir John A. Macdonald and Alexander Mackenzie as a parliamentarian. Above all he is a true Canadian, pandering to no particular province, but viewing Canada as a whole and as an integral part of the British Empire.

Borden is a Strong Man.

His enemies failing to detect a flaw in his masterly conception of Canada's duty in the hour of her stress—that Canada must keep faith with the Canadians in the trenches—say that he is a weak man. Nothing could be further from the truth. The debate on the naval bill in the House of Commons in 1912 proved his calibre when he surpassed Sir Wilfrid as a parliamentarian and electrified Canada with his sturdy advocacy of naval co-operation with the motherland. His presence in London, England, from July to December, 1913, attending the Imperial War Council, enabled him to discuss the affairs of Canada and the Empire with a world-vision that won him the encomiums of the British press as never were accorded Sir Wilfrid Laurier. He held his own with the great pro-consuls of the Empire. It was the force of character of Sir Robert

Borden that uncovered the prodigal fuse contracts and the abnormal profits of the pork packers and forced thorough investigations. His also was the master-mind that solved the railway crisis in Canada in the national interest. But his crowning achievement, in the face of apparently insurmountable difficulties, is his organization of the present Unionist government, that has quickened the spirit of Canadian national life and exalted principle over petty politics. (Applause).

In Flanders Fields.

In Flanders fields the poppies grow
Between the crosses row on row,
That mark our place, and in the sky
The larks still bravely singing fly,
Scarce heard amid the guns below.

We are the dead, short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunsets glow,
Loved and were loved, and now we live
In Flanders fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe
To you from falling hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies blow
In Flanders fields.

Thirty thousand heroes lie buried there
In Flanders fields, but their spirits call to
us now. Shall they call in vain?

Shall we sustain our Soldiers or leave them in the lurch?

Put your answer in the ballot box on December 17th

VOTE FOR

H. H. STEVENS

UNIONIST CANDIDATE VANCOUVER CENTRE

"Go Over the Top" with Stevens on Dec. 17.